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POLITICAL.

SPEECH
OF
MR. BENTON, OF MISSOURI.

IN SENATE.

MONDAY, Jan. 6, 1840.

On Mr. BENTON'S resolutions against the constitutionality and expediency of assuming, or providing for the payment of the State debts, or diverting the land revenue to that object, viz:

"*Resolved*, That there is nothing in the Constitution of the United States which can authorize the Legislative power of the Union to assume the debts of the States which have been contracted for local objects and State purposes.

"2 That the assumption of such debts either openly, by a direct promise to pay them, or disguisedly by giving security for their payment, or by creating surplus revenue or applying the national funds to pay them, would be a gross and flagrant violation of the Constitution, wholly unwarranted by the letter or spirit of that instrument, and utterly repugnant to all the objects and purposes for which the Federal Union was formed.

"3. That, besides its flagrant unconstitutionality, such assumption would be unjust, unwise, impolitic, and dangerous, compelling the non-indebted States to incur burthens for others which they have refused to incur for themselves; diverting the national funds from national objects to State objects, and thereby creating a necessity for loans or taxes, or issues of Federal paper money to supply the place of the funds so diverted; prostrating the barriers of economy, moderation, and safety, in the creation of State debts by separating the function of contractor from that of payer of the debt, extinguishing the sense of responsibility in the contractor, and making the Federal Government the ultimate payer of all the obligations contracted by the States for their own purposes; establishing a dangerous precedent which must soon be followed up by new debts on the part of the States, and new assumptions on the part of the Federal Government; invading the rights and mortgaging the property of posterity, and loading unborn generations with debts not their own; creating a new national debt of large amount at the start, and of a nature to increase continually its own amount, and to perpetuate its own existence; begetting a spirit in Congress which must constantly cater for new distributions by preventing necessary appropriations, and keeping up unnecessary taxes; laying the foundation for a new and excessive tariff of duties on foreign imports to fall unequally on different parts of the Union, and most heavily on the planting, grain growing, and provision raising States, to their manifest injury and probable great discount; involving disastrous consequences either to the Union itself or to its members, as tending to the consolidation of the States, and their ultimate abject dependence on the Federal head as the fountain of their supplies; or, tending to the annihilation of the Federal head itself by stripping it of all its means of national defence and self-support, and reducing it to the hopeless imbecility of the old Confederation; giving a new impulse to the delusive career of the paper system, already in a state of dangerous overaction; ensuring the establishment of another National bank; and, finally, begetting a passion for periodical distributions of lands and money, & extensions of Federal credit, which could find no limit to its demands until the national domain was exhausted, the Federal Treasury emptied, and the credit of the Union reduced to contempt.

"4 That the debts of the States being now chiefly held by foreigners, and constituting a stock in foreign markets greatly appreciated, any legislative attempt to obtain the assumption or securitysing of the United State for their payment, or to provide for their payment out of the national funds, must have the effect of enhancing the value of that stock to the amount of a great many millions of dollars, to the enormous and undue advantage of foreign capitalists, and of jobbers and gamblers in stocks, thereby holding out inducement to foreigners to interfere in our affairs, and to bring all the influence of a money'd power to operate upon public opinion, upon our elections, and upon State and Federal legislation, to produce a consumation so tempting to their cupidity, and so profitable to their interest.

"5. That foreign interference and foreign influence, in all ages, and in all countries, have been the bane and curse of free Governments; and that such interference and influence are far more dangerous, in the insidious intervention of the moneyed power, than in the forcible invasion of fleets and armies.

"6. That to close the door at once against all applications for such assumptions, and to arrest at their source the vast tide of evils which would flow from it, it is necessary that the constituted authorities, without delay, shall RESOLVE and DECLARE their utter opposition to the proposal contained in the late London Bankers's circular in relation to State debts, contracted for local and State purposes, and recommending to the Congress of the United States to assume, or guaranty, or provide for the ultimate payment of said debts."

The resolutions having been read, Mr. BENTON rose and said:

Mr. President: I am an enemy to abstract resolutions, and if those which I present were of that character, I should not have offered them to the Senate. They appear to be abstract, but they are not. They appear to be mere declarations of principles; but they are, in reality, so many issues presented on great questions now occupying the public mind, destined soon to occupy the legislative halls, and the prompt decision of which is necessary to our successful action on other subjects.

The assumption of the State debts contracted for State purposes has been for a long time a measure disguisedly, and now is a measure openly, pressed upon the public mind. The movement in favor of it has been long going on; opposing measures have not yet commenced. The assumption party have the start, and the advantage of conducting the case; and they have been conducting it for a long time, and in a way to avoid the name of assumption while accomplishing the thing itself. All the bills for distributing the public land revenue—all the propositions for dividing surplus revenue—all the refusals to abolish unnecessary taxes—all the refusals to go on with the necessary defences of the country—were so many steps taken in the road to assumption. I know very well that many who supported these measures had no idea of the assumption, and would oppose it as soon as discovered; but that does not alter the nature of the measures they supported, and which were so many steps in the road to that assumption, then shrouded in mystery and futurity, now ripened into strength, and emboldened into a public disclosure of itself. Already the State Legislatures are occupied with this subject, while we sit here, waiting its approach.

It is time for the enemies of assumption to take the field, and act. It is a case in which they should give, and not receive, the attack. The President has led the way; he has shown his opinions. He has nobly done his duty. He has shown the evils of diverting the general funds from their proper objects—the mischiefs of our present connection with the paper system of England—and the dangers of foreign influence from any further connection with it. In this he has discharged a constitutional and a patriotic duty. Let the constituted authorities, each in their sphere, follow his example, and declare their opinions also. Let the Senate especially, as part of the legislative power—as the peculiar representative of the State in their sovereign capacity—let this body declare its sentiments, and, by resolves and discussions, arrest the progress of the measure here, and awaken attention to it elsewhere. As one of the earliest opposers of this measure—as, in fact, the very earliest opposer of the whole family of measurs of which it is the natural offspring—as having denounced the assumption in disguise in a letter to my constituents long before the London bankers' letter revealed it to the public; as such early, steadfast, and first denouncer of this measure, I now come forward to oppose it in form, and to submit the resolves which may arrest it here, and carry its discussion to the forum of the people.

The resolves which I offer, six in number, are not the decrees of a party, or even the result of a council, but the opinions of an individual Senator. I speak for myself in these resolutions.—They contain the declaration of my sentiments on the momentous points to which they refer; and I am not authorized to say that they speak the sentiments of any other Senator. This declaration I think it proper to make, in order to exclude erroneous conclusions, and to prevent undue importance from being attached to my proceeding.

Let no one suppose that I am premature—that I begin too soon—and should wait until the friends of assumption shall bring forward their measure, and show us the shape and form they intend it to wear. If any one should so think and intimate, I must answer as I did to a similar objection ten years ago. I must answer as I did when it was objected that I had brought in my resolution too soon against the renewal of the charter of the Bank of the United States. Many Senators then thought me premature, and objected to entering upon the question until the stockholders should present their memorial and ask for an extension of their privileges. I refused to yield to this objection. I then said, if we waited till the Bank presented her application, we should wait till we were defeated; that she would never apply until she had organized victory; that she would see her majority before she asked for the vote—and would be ready to gallop through her bill for the recharter the day that she presented it. This is what I then said; and subsequent events proved its correctness. The country was saved, and barely saved, from the dominion of that institution, by beginning the contest when we did—by giving instead of waiting to receive the attack; by carrying the question to the people, and rousing up the public mind, and preparing it for the contest which soon began, and which seven long years terminated. So of this assumption, disguised as it may be with a proposition to divide the land revenue among the States. Immediate discussion, direct issues, and prompt action, is what we want. The assumption party will not bring on the question, except at a time, and under a form, to favor their own wishes.—They will not move here until they have first acted elsewhere. The State Legislatures will be the selected theatres of their operations; and anticipated judgments will be the object of their policy. This will be their course; ourse should be the reverse. What we need is public discussion, prompt action, and a reference, before decision, to the judgment of the people. The adoption of the resolutions which I have brought in will give us these advantages; they will give us the advantages which we secured by precipitating the contest with the Bank of the U. Stats.

This is one reason for prompt action in this case; but there is another of great weight, and which some experience in the business of legislation requires me to present, and to command to the deliberate consideration of the Senate. It is the effect which a measure proposing to divert the land revenue from the current service, (for that is the form, I apprehend, which the assumption will take)—it is the effect which this proposition will have upon the legislative action of Congress upon other subjects. Assuredly its pendency will have a most pernicious influence on other bills; on the bills for the national defences, for the pacification of Florida, for the reduction of the price of the public land, for granting pre-emptions, for abolishing the salt tax; and, generally, on all the bills which go to make adequate appropriations for national objects, or to get rid of unnecessary and burthensome taxation. The diversion of some annual millions from the Treasury will prescribe stinted appropriations for essential objects, the sacrifice of others, the retention of all our present taxes, and the speedy imposition of new ones. This is the language both of foresight and experience. It is what a reasonable degree of forecast authorizes us to look for, and what the experience of our own body enables us to recollect in our past history. We have experience on this subject, bitter and recent experience, of the effect which the pendency of distribution projects exerts upon our legislation. I speak of the long session of 1835–'6, when two bills for distribution passed this body, one of which became a law; and when, in a session of seven months, the current bills for the public service were still lingering on the calender, and many of a most important character were totally lost. As late as the 18th of June, in the session of 1835–'6, we had done little more than growl and wrangle for the spoils of the Treasury On that day I felt it to be my duty to present to the Senate a view of the mischievous effect upon legislation which the distribution spirit had brought upon us; and this I did in the following words:

"Thus it is already; distribution has occupied us the entire session. A proposition to amend the Constitution, to enable us to make the division, was brought forward in the first month of the session. The land bill followed and engrossed months, to the exclusion of all national defence bills. Then came the deposite scheme, a variation of the former, which absorbs the remainder of the session. For nearly seven months we have been occupied with distribution, and the Senate has actually passed two bills to effect the same object and to divide the same identical money. TWO bills to divide money while ONE cannot be got through for the great objects of national defence named in the Constitution. We are now near the end of the seventh month of the session. The day named by the Senate for the termination of the session, has actually passed by; the day of adjournment agreed upon by the two Houses is close at hand. The year is half gone, and the season for labour is half lost; yet what is the state of the general, the national, and the most essential appropriation bills? What is their state? Not a shilling is yet voted for fortifications—not a shilling for the ordnance—nothing for filling the empty ranks of the skeleton army—nothing for the new Indian treaties—nothing for the continuation of the Cumberland road—nothing for re-building the burnt down Treasury—nothing for the custom-house in New Orleans—nothing for extinguishing the rights of private corporators in the Louisville canal, and making that great thoroughfare free to the commerce of the West—nothing for the Western armory—nothing for arsenals in the States which have none—nothing for the extension of the circuit court system to the West and Southwest—nothing for improving the Mint machinery—nothing for keeping the Mints regularly supplied with metals for coining—nothing for the new marine hospitals—nothing for the expenses of the visiters now gone to the Military Academy—nothing for the chain of posts and the military road along the Western and Northwesterh frontier. All these, and a long list of other objects, remain without a cent to this day; and those who have kept them off now coolly turn upon us, *and say* the money cannot be expended if appropriated! that it has become too late to use it, and that, on the first day of January next, it must fall into the surplus fund, and be divided! So much for the bills not passed. Of those passed, many of the most essential character have been delayed for months, to the great damage of individuals, and to the injury of the public service. Clerks and salaried officers have been borrowing money at usury to support their families, while we, wholly absorbed with dividing surpluses, were withholding from them their stipulated wages. Laborers at Harper's Ferry armory have been without money to go to market for their families; *and some have lived three weeks without meat*, because we must attend to the distribution bills before we can attend to the pay bills. Disbursing officers have raised money on their own credit to supply the want of appropriations. Even the annual Indian annuity bill has just got through! the Indians even—the poor Indians as they are wont to be styled—even they have had to wait, in want and misery for the annual stipends solemnly guaranteed to them by treaties. All this has already taken place under the deplorable influence of the distribution spirit; but this is not *all* that has taken place," &c.

This is history, copied from the facts. This is the experience of the Senate itself of the baleful influence of the distribution bills on the legislative action of Congress. While such bills are depending, all others are suspended, and many are sacrificed. They are a *veto* upon our legislative faculties. This we have seen and suffered; and this we must see and suffer again, unless assumption, in all its forms and disguises—assumption of State debts, which is the fruit of the policy, and the consummation of the policy, to tempting and seducing the States with distributions of public money—all this we must see again, and worse than this, unless assumption is rebuked and repulsed, and its full spirit exorcised from our legislative halls. The first step towards doing any business, is to expel this intruder—to drive off this bird of evil omen—to chase away this harpy which is come to flap its foul wings over our Capitol, and to croak its glutton notes for the spoil of our Treasury. This is our first duty.—When we have got rid of this intrustive monster, we can then go on with the public business; until that is done, we can do nothing but growl and wrangle for the spoils of our country.

I trust, Mr. President, that I have now shown sufficient reasons for proceeding at once upon this subject—for moving thus early, and bringing in broad and direct resolutions; and for pressing the Senate to speedy and final action on the momentous subject of assuming or providing for the payment of the State debts. I feel that this preliminary point is made clear. What I next wish to show is, that I myself have some little right to take a lead in this business—that I am the earliest and most steadfast opposer, on this floor, of the policy out of which this crowning measure of mischief has grown—and that, in now opposing ASSUMPTION, I am only opposing the CHILD of DISTRIBUTION, which I was the first to oppose here, and that on the first day of its appearance in this chamber; and have continually made head against it since, regardless of personal popularity, and undismayed by the small minorities in which I was often left. This assertion, sir, is no peotical license; it is no rhetorical flourish; it is no fictitious or assumed self-commendation; but a history of the facts of the case from the journals of our proceedings. It is now twelve years, less one month, since a Senator from New Jersey, no longer a member of this body, brought in a bill for distributing money from the Federal Treasury among the States On my motion, & the instant the author had resumed his seat, that bill was laid upon the table, there to lie during the remainder of the session. The ensuing session it was brought in again, and I was then one among several Senators who took the floor, and spoke against it.—In company with the Senators Hayne, Branch, Berrien, Smith of Maryland, Johnston of Louisiana, McLane of Delaware, and Kane of Illinois, I spoke against that bill; and the temper of the Senate was then such that it was easily disposed of, and without the test of a vote upon its merits. I deem it material to the present state of the question to look back to this origin of the distribution policy—to see the original naked bill for that purpose—and to mark how easily there has since been accomplished, under a disguised form, what could not then be countenanced in a naked proposition. This is the bill brought in by Mr Dickerson at the session of 1826–7, to distribute among the States a part of the revenuce of the United States.

"*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized and required, under such regulations as he may think proper to prescribe, to divide annually among the several States of the Union, in the ratio of direct taxation, all moneys in the Treasury, not otherwise appropriated, on the first day of June next, and on the first day of June in every succeeding year.

"SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That, of the annual sum of ten millions of dollars, appropriated to the sinking fund by the second section of the act of the third of March, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen, entitled '*An act to provide for the redemption of the public debt*, five millions be appropriated to the fund to be divided among the States, as by the first section of this act, annually, after the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine; and that so much of the residue of the said annual sum of ten millions of dollars, as shall not, on the first day of June of any year, have been applied to the redemption of the public debt, shall be appropriated to the fund to be divided among the States as aforesaid."

In the brief debate to which this bill gave rise, I took part, not in a formal speech—for I was then, comparatively, a young member—but in a few remarks, which I propose to read now, for the double purpose of showing what my sentiments were then, and also to show, from history, the disastrous consequences of the funding system, now adopted by so many of our States, in creating debts for posterity to pay, and to exhaust, with annual interest, the resources both of the present age and of unborn generations. These were my remarks:

"MR BENTON rose, not to make a speech, but to read some extracts from a debate in the British House of Commons, about one hundred years ago, on a proposition of the same kind as that which now occupied the deliberations of the Senate. England then had a small debt, not much larger than the debt of the United States was at present; she had a sinking fund also, under the operation of which her debt was annually melting away; and she enjoyed a season of peace—the long peace under the timid administration of Sir Robert Walpole, in which the debt might have been paid off. The circumstances of the two countries, with respect to their debt, were as alike as possible; that is to say, the condition of England one hundred years ago, and that of the United States now. In these circumstances, Sir Robert Walpole made a motion to divert £500'000 from the English sinking fund, as the Senator from New Jersey [Mr Dickerson, who Mr B. was sorry to name in company with Sir Robert Walpole] now proposes to divert five millions annually from our sinking fund. The motion of the English minister was supported by all the common place arguments in mitigation and in favor of the public debt, as, that a debt increased the wealth of a country, and gave stability to the Government; that the then debt of England was inconsiderable, and might be paid at any time; that the public creditors were in no hurry to receive, and that the money, for the present could be used more beneficially for other purposes. The opposition members, however, from whose speeches I propose to read extracts, were opposed to all these doctrines These members were the Iron Barons of the day, such as Lord Chatham, afterwards contrasted with the Silken Barons of a later period. They had the best of the argument, and their prophecies, unhappily for their country, have become its history. But the minister had the best of it at voting, and his motion prevailed. He succeeded in violating the sinking fund—in diverting one half of its amount from its proper object, to objects of transient interest and subordinate importance. The consequences were such as had been foretold by the Iron Barons.

The season of peace passed away; the long and timid administration of Walpole itself passed away; the debt was unpaid; successive wars came on; and the debt, which was then made so light of by the minister, rapidly grew up to a frightful amount; soon overwhelmed the country with taxes, and banished all idea of ever seeing it paid. The example, Mr. B hoped, would not be lost upon the United States, the child of England.—The experience of the mother, he humbly trusted, would not be lost upon their daughter, as the experience of parents too often is lost upon their children. History was said to be philosophy teaching by example; he hoped this moral and sublime teacher would not lavish her lessons in vain upon the American Senate.

Mr. B. joined in the wish expressed by the Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Hayne,] that the debt of the United States might be paid off under the ensuing Administration. He concurred with that Senator in the measure of the new fame which such a consummation would confer upon General Jackson.

Observing some Senators to smile, Mr. B. spoke up with animation and vehemence, repeating what he had said, and even going so far as to say that the new President would have as hard, or harder work, in baffling the enemies to the payment of the debt, than he had in vanquishing the British at New Orleans; for there he had his enemy in front, and saw what he was at, but here he would have his opponents on his flank and rear, covered up in masks and disguises, laboring to accomplish what would not be avowed. No one would now stand up and say, 'a public debt was a public blessing,' but many would practise upon the maxim, and endeavor to perpetuate ours, by withholding the means of paying it; by abolishing duties beforehand, and preventing the acquisition of revenue, or by squandering it upon all sort of objects.

Mr. B. then read the following extracts from the debates to which he alluded.

SIR WILLIAM PULTENEY.—"The Sinking Fund, that sacred deposite for extinguishing the duties and abolishing the taxes which lie so heavy on the trade, and on the people of this nation, ought never to be touched; no consideration whatever ought to prevail with us to convert that fund to any use, but that for which it was originally designed. It has, of late, been too often robbed—I beg pardon, sir, robbing is a harsh word, I will not say robbed—but I must say, that, upon several occasions, there have been considerable sums shipped away from it."

SIR JOHN BARNARD.—"The creditors of the public are, perhaps, at present unwilling to be paid off, because they have a greater interest for their money from the public than they can have any where else. But, let their inclinations be what they please, it is certainly the interest of the nation to have them all paid off; the sooner it is done, the happier it will be for the nation, and, therefore, no part of what is appropriated to their payment ought to be converted to any other use. Their unwillingness to receive payment is so far from being an argument against paying them, that, on the contrary, it shows that they have a better bargain from the public than they can, in the same way, have from any other person."

Sir William Wyndham.—"The Sinking Fund is a fund I have always had the greatest veneration for, I look on it as a sacred fund, appropriated to the relieving the nation from that load of debts and taxes it now groans under. * * * * * * *

* * * I have, indeed, been always afraid that some enterprising minister might be tempted to seize upon it, or some part of it, in time of war; but I little dreamt of seeing any attempts made upon it in a time of the most profound tranquillity. It is to me a melancholy consideration to think of the present vast load of the national debt, a debt of no less than forty-five millions and upwards, and that all contracted since the Revolution, (1688.) This must be a melancholy consideration to every gentleman that has any concern for his country's happiness; but if the motion now made to us shall be agreed to, how dismal will this consideration be rendered, when we reflect upon the little appearance there will then be of this debt's ever being paid. Is the public expense never to be lessened? Are the people of England always to pay the same heavy and grievous taxes? Surely, sir, if there is ever a time to be looked for of easing the people of this nation, the present is the time for doing it. * * * * * * *

* * *. To this the motion now made is directly contrary; for, the not paying off an old debt is the same as contracting a new one, and subjects the nation to the same expense with respect to the payment of the interest."

Mr. Taylor, member for Peterasfield, observed, "That there are some people in the nation, who, the more they owe, the greater advantage they make, and the richer they grow—such are the bankers; that by the motion made to the House, one might imagine that some gentlemen took the case of the nation to be the same; but, for his part, he could not think so, and, therefore, differed from the motion."

I repeat it: I read these brief remarks, made so many years ago, for a double purpose—for the purpose of showing my early opposition to public debts, and to distributions of public money, and to show the extreme danger of permitting a public debt to take root in the policy, and fasten itself upon the resources, of a country. Both the States and the United States have need of this admonitory lesson at present; the former, to check them in their flying career of debt; the latter, to warn it from encumbering itself with the new debt, which is sought, under a British lead, to be thrown upon it.

I now proceed to the consideration of the resolutions which I have submitted, and shall pass over the first one, which declares the unconstitutionality of the Federal assumption of State debts which have been contracted for State purposes.—I shall pass over this resolution, and dispense with all argument upon the proposition which it contains, because naked assumption is not the form in which we shall have this danger to meet. It is disguised assumption we shall have to encounter. It is the national domain which is to be made the cloak for the operation; and this is what I declared to my constituents, in the month of June last, in a letter written three hundred miles beyond the Mississippi, and six months before the letter of the London bankers had revealed the scheme to the American public. This is an extract from the letter:

"I have many other objections to this unconstitutional, demoralizing, debauching, and oppressive scheme of dividing the proceeds of the public lands; too many for bare enumeration in a letter, and I can only mention one of them; namely, *that it is a disguise assumption of the State debts!* Unfortunately, eighteen States of the Union have gone one hundred and seventy millions of dollars in debt, principally to England, under the delusive idea of clearing the interest by banking and railroad making, and with the unjust view of throwing the payment of the principal upon posterity. If this immense sum had been received in gold and silver, I should still deem it an unfortunate business for the most of the States, especially for all the new ones. But it has not been so received. It has been received (generally) in British dry goods, which are worn out and gone; and in Eastern credits and paper money, which last about as long as a summer's snow. The bonds are usually sold to Eastern banks for British capitalists. Drafts are drawn upon those banks, and sold to merchants, who pay for the draft in current paper, and receive the amount in British dry goods in Eastern cities, which are sold to the people and worn out. This is the general history of the sale of State bonds; a mere delusion as to borrowing money and obtaining capital; a sad reality as to loading the State with debt. The thing borrowed is gone; the State debt, and its exhausting interest, remain; *and now this distribution project is a disguised assumption of those debts.* When General Hamilton proposed the assumption of the debts of the indebted States in 1791, he did it openly, and arrayed the two parties (Federal and Republican) upon it, and carried the measure by an open bargain in Congress, (in locating the permanent seat of Government.) Mr Jefferson has described that transaction in colors which should make every Republican shudder; but here is a disguised attempt at the same thing, without one single extenuating circumstance which was then pleaded. But I pause. I quit this subject until I shall meet it in Congress."

This is what I wrote six months ago, and now we are in the presence of the danger which I then announced. Disguised assumption is the enemy we have to combat. Breach of the Constitution by elusion and circumvention, not by direct invasion, is the danger that threatens us. Both forms of violation are equally vitious and reprehensible, and the former far the most common and successful. Of this we have signal and recent instances in our own body, and on the very subject which now occupies our attention. When a Senator of New Jersey, fourteen years ago, brought in a bill for a direct and naked distribution of public money among the States, it received no manner of countenance, and was quickly, and almost unanimously, disposed of. When the same object was afterwards proposed in the shape of a land revenue distribution bill, it made its way through both Houses of Congress, and was only arested by the firm hand of President Jackson. Finally, when the self-same scheme made its appearance in the garb of a deposite bill, it not only passed both Houses, but passed the President's hand also, and became the law of the land. Thus elusion and circumvention are the most common, and far the most successful, mode of getting rid of constitutional inhibitions. They are, besides, far the most ancient. As far back as history goes—as long as fundamental laws and constitutions have been known—just so long

the practice of evading them has been famaiar and notorious. Majorities have been found in all ages and in all countries to elude what they could not attack, and to circumvent what they could not surmont. Of this the history of the Athenians furnishes the finest example that I have any where seen. That ingenious people were able to excel in many things, and, among the rest, in the art of trampling under foot their most sacred laws, while professing towards them a derisory fidelity and a mock respect. The instance to which I refer is that of the admission of Demetrius the son of Antigonus, into all the degrees of the Eleusynian mysteries in a single day, when the laws required a whole year for the consummation of the admission. Demetrius demanded to be admitted in a day; the laws prescribed a year; so that here was a great difficulty. To satisfy the the Prince, then all powerful in Greece, and to comply with the sacred laws which they were sworn to observe, seemed to be impossible, but, by an ingenious conception, the difficulty was evaded, sacrilege avoided, and Demetrius gratified. The invention was simply to change the name of the month at each successive degree of the initiation. This was done. Twelve months were compressed into a few hours; the admission became legal; and the happy inventor of the expedient received from the poets of the day the signinicant title of *Chronos-porthetes*, which signifies, I believe, *time-expunger*. Plutarch, in his Life of Demetrius, thus describes the operation:

"When Demetrius was preparing to return to Athens he wrote to the Republic that, on his arrival, he intended to be initiated, and to be admitted immediately not only to the less mysteries, but even to those called intuitive. This was unlawful and unprecedented; for the less mysteries were celebrated in the month Anthesterion, and the greater in the month Boedromion; and none were admitted to the intuitive till a year at least after they had attended the greater mysteries. When the letters were read, Pythodorus, the torchbearer, was the only person who ventured to oppose the demand; and his opposition was entirely ineffectual. Stratocles procured a decree that the month Munychion, which they were then in, should be called Anthesterion; after which Munychion was changed again into Boedromion. By these means Demetrius was admitted to the greater mysteries, and to immediate inspection."

It was thus, Mr. President, that Athenian ingenuity, some two thousand years ago, by a transposition of names, disembarrassed a sacred college of its constitutional difficulties; but it required Athenian ingenuity to contrive an expedient so delicate a indntellectual. Nothing so refined and spiritual can be expected in these prosaic and money-making times, and in this country, where so much of the genius of the age is directed to the literature of bandking, and to the accurate descriptions of the alternate "*tightness*" and "*looseness*" of the money market. We can expect nothing like Athenian wit here. The nearest approach that I have seen to it was in this enlightened chamber, and on a recent occasion, when a division of the public money among the States being admitted to be unconstitutional under the word *distribute*, that word was gently deposed, and the word *deposite* enthroned in its place; after which the division of the money took place in the same manner as if the change of words had not been made.

I repeat, Mr. President, we are not to expect Athenian wit in our attempts to get rid of constitutional difficulties. Compared to their refined and spiritual inventions, our contrivances must appear coarse and bungling; and such, in fact, in too many instances, they have actually been. We have often bungled most clumsily in our attempts to circumvent our Constitution, and we can expect no better in future; and, of the rude attempts of this kind which I have witnessed, none are more awkward and clumsy than that of undertaking to substitute a distribution of the revenue *generally*, or for an open assumption of the State debts. It is all the same thing, and all ends in the same result. Sir, this whole scheme of dividing the puplic land revenue among the States is an indirect assumption of their debts. It is disguised assumption; and it is only another move on that distribution policy which has haunted our councils for so many years, in such a variety of forms, and which found its first success in the passage of the act to *deposite* the surplus revenue, as it was called, with the States of the Union.

The scheme which now occupies the capitalists bankers, and stockjobbers of London, Paris, Amsterdam, Philadelphia, and New York, to obtain from the Federal Government the assumption, or a provision for the payment of the State debts, is the natural offspring of the distribution policy which infested this chamber for fourteen years, and finally succeeded, in the form of a deposite of surplus revenue with the States. In company with a small minority of half a dozen Senators, I made head against distribution in the disguise of a deposite, and delivered the history of the transaction, on the passage of the act, as accurately as it can be written now. I then said:

"*At the end of some years, the nominal transaction will be rescinded; the certificates will all be cancelled by one general, harmonious unanimous vote in Congress. The disguise of a deposite, like the mask after a play, will be thrown aside, and the delivery of the money will turn out to be, what it is now intended to be, a gift from the beginning. This will be the end of the first chapter.*"

This is what I said on Friday, the 18th day of June, 1836, the day on which the deposite act passed—*dies infaustus*, as the Romans would call it—unhappy day which witnessed the immolation of the Constitution, and the consummation of a policy big with the fate of this federative Union. I then said the nominal transaction of a deposite would be rescinded; the month of September, 1837, saw it rescinded. The deposite has become in form what it was from the beginning in substance—a gift of the money; and this conclusion is, what I called in my speech against it, the end of the first chapter. Assumption is the beginning of the second one; and here I am standing on my old ground, to make head against the offspring of the measure which I opposed, in its seminal principle, fourteen years ago, and have contiued opposing it ever since in all its successive stages, and in all modifications of form.

I come at once to the point, and say that disguised assumption, in the shape of land revenue distribution, is the form in which we shall have to meet the danger; and I meet it at once in that disguise. I say there is no authority in the Constitution to raise money from any branch of the revenue for distribution among the States, or to distribute that which had been raised for other purposes. The power of Congress to raise money is not unlimited and arbitrary, but restricted, and directed to the national objects named in the Constitution. The means, the amount, and the application, are all limited. The means are direct taxes—duties on imports—and the public lands; the objects are the support of the Government—the common defence—and the payment of the debts of the Union, the amount to be raised is of course limited to the amount required for the accomplishment of these objects. Consonant to to the words and the spirit of the Constitution, is the title, the preamble and the tenor of all the early statutes for raising money; they all declare the object for which the money is wanted; they declare the object at the head of the act. Whether it be a loan, a direct tax, or a duty on imports, the object of the loan, the tax, or the duty, is stated in the preamble to the act; Congress thus excusing and justiying themselves for the demand in the very act of making it, and telling the people plainly what they wanted with the money. This was the way in all the early statutes; the books are full of examples; and it was only after money began to be levied for objects not known to the Constitution, that this laudable and ancient practice was dropped. Among the enumerated objects for which money can be raised by Congress, is that of paying the debts of the Union; and is it not a manifest absurdity to suppose that, while it requires an express grant of power to enable us to pay the debts of the Union, we can pay those of the States by implication and by indirection?

Sir, our Constitution grew out of a want of money; it grew out of the want of money for general and national purposes; and it contains no grant of power in relation to receipts and expenditures, except to raise and expend it for such purposes.

I meet the danger in its disguise of distribution, and repeat, there is no authority in the Constitution to raise money for distribution, or to distribute that which had been raised for other purposes. This results not only from the plain words of the Constitution, and the known purposes of forming the Federal Union, but also from the total silence of the Constitution upon a rule of distribution. There is a rule in the Constitution for raising money—none for dividing it. The Constitution has provided for the equality and uniformity of the levy; there is no provision for the equality and uniformity of a distiribution:—"*All duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States. * * No capitation or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census, or enumeration herein before ordered to be taken. * * No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State over another.*" Such are the injunctions of the Constitution in relation to the levy of money; such its care to provide for the uniformity and equality of the levy. But where is the rule for disuribution? And what becomes of the equality of the levy, if that which is equally levied is unequally partitioned out?—There is no rule given for the partitioners to go by; and that is a proof, among others, that no partitions of revenue—no partitions of any kind, money, land, or other property—was ever intended to be made. The framers of our Constitution were not bunglers, but skilful workmen—they were not apprentices, but master workmen.—They did not close up their work upon one side, and leave it open upon the other. They did not commit the absurd and egregious folly of permitting that to be unequally divided which had been equally collected. If they had contemplated divisions of money or property, they would have given the rule to regulate them; not having done so, is clear proof they never contemplated such a thing; and we all know that any Constitution providing for such an event would have been scouted and scorned by every State in the Union.

No, sir; there is no rule in the Constitution for the distribution of any thing—money, lands, or goods. The framers of that instrument doubtless looked for no divison of its effects in the lifetime of the Union. They doubtless expected the Union to die first; and, as that was an event which they intended to be remote, they made no provision for the contingency even then. They did not provide for the descent of the estate, much less for its partition in the lifetime of the owner. There is no rule to divide by; and, consequently, every mover of distribution has had to provide a rule of his own. The Senator from New Jersey, who brought in the first bill for this purpose, took the rule of the Constitution in the case of direct taxes; he would divide in the ratio of direct taxation.—The land bills which followed took Federal numbers, but qualified with a preliminary distribution, of some times ten, and sometimes twelve per cent. to the new States. The deposite bill, differing from all these, took the vote of the States for President, and gave them shares of the money in proportion to the number of their Presidential votes. Such was the diversity among the bills. Finally, the rule agreed upon was such as found its sanction in the will of the majority for the time being. The will of the actual majority fixed it; and the principle which regulated that will was the acquisition of the precise number of votes which was necessary to carry the bill. That was the rule they went by—acquisition of votes enough to pass the bill. This acquisition was either seductive or coercive. An increase of the distributive share was allowed to some, and their support was thus conciliated; the favorite bills of others, such as the graduation and pre-emption bills, and others for the benefit of paticular States were seized upon and crammed into the distribution bills, and their authors thus compelled to support them in these bills, or to vote against their own measures. This we have seen; this Senate has seen it; and we have seen the ratio for dividing the spoil become the subject of huckstering arrangement on this floor, and altered and changed in the face of the Senate, until the requisite number of votes could be conciliated or coerced, to pass the bill through.

But it is contended that the land revenue stands upon a different footing from the custom-house, or direct tax revenue; and that Congress may do with one what it cannot do with the other. This is a fallacy and absurdity which will not bear the touch of inquiry. There is no more rule for dividing land revenue than any other revenue; and there is no difference in law, or in fact, between the different branches of the public income. When the land is sold, the money received is revenue, and is Federal revenue, and is in the Federal Treasury, and cannot be taken from that Treasury, except by an appropriation law; and that appropriation law is nothing more nor less than the application of so much money to some constitutional object. The appropriation law takes what it finds in the Treasury. No law of Congress can discriminate between the different receipts; no human touch can tell what dollars were received for lands, and what for customs and direct taxes. The discrimination is impossible as a mere matter of fact; it is unconstitutional as a matter of law; it would be a mockery if inserted in the law. Distributions are not *expenditures*, neither in common parlance, nor in the meaning of our Constitution; and no money can be drawn from our Treasury except for an *expenditure*.

The clause on which the distributionists relied, and in which the assumptionists must follow them is that in which Congress is authorized "*to dispose of the the territory and other property of the United States.*" The power of disposition is granted; but it is only for national purposes—for objects known to the Constitution—that Congress can dispose of this territory and of this property. Congress received it for national purposes, of which the first was to pay the debts of the Union. The early legislation of Congress declared this intent by pledging the lands to the redemption of the debt, and constituting the whole of the revenue receivable from it a part of the sinking fund for that object. The public lands have never fulfilled this destination. They have never paid the public debt, nor a shilling of it—not even its interest, or one shilling of its interest. They have been so managed, by waiting for inferior land to rise to the price of the first quality, that they have not met the expenses of purchases and management. Instead of paying any part of the public debt, they are themselves in debt to the custom-house revenue for money taken from that source to assist in their acquisition and management. The public lands have cost the United States one hundred and twelve millions of dollars; they have brought into the Treasury one hundred and four millions; and of that sum twenty-eight millions have been distributed among the States under the deposite act. Deducting this amount, and they lack thirty-six millions of paying for themselves. They are in debt that amount to the customs; and the whole burden of the public debt has been thrown upon the customs also.—The lands, by being held up at a fixed price, the bad and the good all at the some rate, have been so little productive as not even to pay for their purchase and management. The custom-house revenue has borne all the burthens; and to make it do so, enormus has been the sum obtained from it. Few people have an idea of the enormity of this sum, and that it amounts to seven hnudred and thiry-one millions of dollars; and that after paying its own expenses. Seven hundred and thirty-one millions is the clear revenue from customs; and of that amount, no less than four hundred and thirty millions have gone to the public debt, Treasury notes inclusive, and its interest. Here is a table which exhibits the annual receipts of the Government from lands and costoms, and the annual payments on account of the public debt and purchases of land, and which verifies the statement which I have made.

This is the table in detail, (showing a large sheet,) but I only state the gross amounts under each head. They are:

For principal and interest of the public debt	-	-	$421,496,000
Receipts from customs	-	-	731,285,000
Receipts from lands	-	-	104,000,000
Purchase of lands	-	-	112,000,000

Three great errors, Mr. President, prevail in relation to the public lands; two of them errors of fact, one an error of constitutional law. They are fundamental errors, and lead to all the erroneous notions, and to all the erroneous movements which are now taking place in Congress and elsewhere, in relation to the disposition of the public domain. These errors are, *first*, in supposing that the territorial cessions of the States were gifts of the soil to the Federal Government; *secondly*, in supposing that the cessions so made have fulfilled their destination in paying off the public debt; *thirdly*, in supposing that Congress is free from any constitutional restraint in disposing of these lands. These are radical & fundamental errors, leading to erroneous action in legislation; and they deserve the clear exposure which will utterly explode them. So far as fulfilling their destination in the payment of the public debt is concerned, that error is fully exploded. It has already been shown by authentic tables that the customs paid the public debt; that they both supported the Government, and paid the national debt; that the lands, in fact, have answered no part of their destination, not even having paid the expenses of their own acquisition and management. This makes that error clear, the other two shall be as fully cleared up.

These are great points in the case, and I mean to make them clear both in the fact and in the argument. It is an error to say that these lands, any part of them, were donations to the Federal Government—that they were gifts from the States. This is what is commonly said, but it is a mistake, and an error of fact; and upon this error the whole argument of the distributionists, and their offspring, the assumptionists, has been built up. The United States have purchased all the lands they hold. They have paid the money, and a great price in money for them. No gifts, no donations, no gratuit us cessions of lands have been made to this Government; but with money from her Treasury has she bought and paid for the whole; and paid out for them more than they have yet paid back. This is my assertion, and here is the proof:

Purchase of Louisiana	-	-	$15,000,000
Interest paid thereon	-	-	8,329,353
Purchase of Florida	-	-	5,000,000
Interest thereon	-	-	1,480,000
Paid to Georgia	-	-	1,250,000
Same purchase in Mississippi stock			1,832,000
Extinguishing Indian titles -	-		72,000,000
Survey of public lands	-	-	3,250,000
Salaries and expenditures in the General Land Office	-	-	1,250,000
Land offices and officers	-	-	3,300,000
			$112,691,353

[CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.]

☞ The number of Revolutionary Pensioners under the act of 1818, has decreased form 20,000 to 8215. Under the act of 1832, they have decreased from 34,918 to 24,086. The number of Widows' claims under the act of 1836, is 2512.

OXFORD DEMOCRAT.

PARIS, FEBRUARY 11, 1840.

SPECIAL LEGISLATION.

Legislation, to carry out the principles of a free government like ours, like light and air, or the dews heaven, should fall equally upon all. Collectively, legislators represent the whole people, and it should be their duty to make laws for the benefit of the whole. But by a recurrence to our legislative history, it will be seen how small a portion of their labor is given to the public, and how much to individuals or corporations. Of the number of Acts passed within the last six years, how large a portion of them fall under the denomination of special Laws, and how small a proportion of them are general laws, and a still greater proportion of the Resolves are of a private nature. In fact, one of the vices of the present age is stimulated by extravagance, a thirst to acquire property without earning it, a desire to transact ordinary business by means of charters of incorporation. They are supposed to possess advantages and to confer facilities for the transaction of business and the acquisition of wealth, and are often used for purposes of speculation. and sometimes of deception and fraud; but we doubt whether they confer the advantages or benefits expected from them. If they really do confer *particular and exclusive privileges*, it constitutes one of the strongest objections against the granting of such charters for incorporation. They change the nature of property, converting real into personal; and create a kind of mortmain, inconsistent with the spirit of our laws and the genius of our Government. Municipal, literary, benevolent, and charitable incorporations are sometimes necessary and useful; but to charter incorporations for the purpose of holding and managing property, is conferring privileges on the few, from which the mass, who possess equal claims, are debarred. A corporation has no soul, and, therefore, is not responsible itself for mal-conduct, and can be reached only through its members and officers, a remedy not co-extensive with the evil, one seldom resorted to, and always with reluctance. The responsibility for the acts of the corporation is so divided among its members, and so covered with the corporate shield, that it loses most of its power, creating, in fact, a species of aristocracy of the most dangerous description—an aristocracy of wealth. And the evil does not stop here. Acts of incorporation vest the control and management of property, and of extensive business, on which many may depend for subsistence, in a few persons, who, without the restraint of self-interest or individual responsibility, use the means in their hands for the accomplishment of objects from which, as private citizens, they would shrink. Special legislation should, therefore, be only for public purposes, or purposes beyond the ability of individual efforts; and if facilities for combined action in ordinary business transactions be deemed necessary or useful, they should be conducted by a general law, making it alike accessible to all, and of which every joint stock company might avail itself without the agency of special legislation.

ELECTION OF PRINTER.—After a long and angry debate, on the 30th ult., concerning the election of Printer, the House proceeded to ballot, and on the first trial Messrs. BLAIR & RIVES, publishers of the Globe, were elected by a majority of thirteen. The vote stood as follows:

Whole number of votes,	207
Blair & Rives had	110
Gales & Seaton had	92
Scattering,	5

Correspondence of the Democrat.

AUGUSTA, Feb. 6, 1840.

MR. EDITOR,—You can form no idea of the terrible *fuss* the wise Legislature of this State, make about cold weather. The first thing they could think of, or say to each other yesterday morning, as they marched in under the "granite pillars," was, *very* cold—*terrible* cold—*awful* cold morning—*coldest* that has been this year. Well, I suppose it was "*kind* o' cold," but who cares for these puny fellows who come here, if they do get their noses twisted by old Jack Frost; they are receiving two dollars per day; rioting on beef steak and stuffed turkies and other *fowls*; so let them take a little *bitter* with the sweet.

My last letter left the House *digging* the Allagash canal. Saturday morning the laborers upon this work of "*infernal* improvement" came together, armed with "spapes and shovels," ready to commence operations, not on terra firma, but on an "*Act*," to give some of the Down Easters liberty to *act*. The way they flourished these instruments of husbandry at each other, was a caution to all who speed the plough or dig the soil.

The debate continued till past two o'clock, neither party being willing to leave the fields, when Mr. Perry of Oxford, moved to lay the "bone of contention" on the table. His motion prevailed, and the civil posse, stationed at the capitol to defend the interests of the State, departed in peace, to pick a bone which would be more palatable to their voracious appetites.

Here, just let me say, empty, vacant seats stared at a stranger with a most impudent look. Where are they gone? I asked, as I stood almost alone in the spacious Hall of wisdom. Echo answered, where? Here let me suggest the propriety of an alteration in the Constitution, which shall make no man eligible to the office of Senator or Representative who has committed the crime of matrimony—and I will give my reasons for so bold a proposition. They are these:—Men who have wives and children at home, *can't stand it*, as they say, but a few weeks, at longest, before they must go home and see the folks! and this is the reason why we find so many among the *missing*, at the commencement and close of each week. Now how is it with the old bachelors and young bachelors? Why, they "stick to the stuff," (as the saying is,) and devote their *whole* time to the service of the State, while their associates, having left their *better* halves at home, the *fractional* parts, that are left, come here in the shape of Representatives of the people. Just give us a Legislature of old bachelors once, and see if the business of the session is not turned off with a *single* eye, and a tremendous despatch.

Monday was taken up in receiving petitions, introducing Orders, &c. &c. Tuesday, the Bill reported by the Committee on the Judiciary, granting a divorce to Ebenezer and Mary Cobb, was called up, and Mr. True of Montville, moved its indefinite postponement. Mr. Fessenden of Portland, made a very able defence of the Bill, both as regards the constitutional grounds involved in the question, and the expediency of passing the same. He was followed by Mr. Everett, of Brunswick, on the other side. Father Leavitt *chimed* in a word, and was followed by Mr. Shaw of Windham, on the same track; all raising constitutional scruples with regard to the power possessed by the Legislature to grant the prayer of the petioners. Mr. Perry, of Oxford, followed at length, supporting the Bill. Mr. Delesdernier opposed, and after a few words from Mr. Andrews, of Turner, stating his views upon the question were the same as by him expressed last winter, the motion was lost by a vote of 60 yeas, and 65 nays, and the Bill passed.

I do hope the Senate will have moral courage enough to concur with the House and let these two unhappy individuals go free. If they don't, I hope they may, some future day, find themselves "enjoying the *same* blessing;" and in that case, I think they would exclaim in their sorrow, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto *you*, do ye also unto *them*."

To-day, two important subjects have been decided upon in the House. The Act to incorporate the Allagash Company, was called up by Mr. Perry of Oxford, and after a few remarks by Mr. Main of Belgrade, was indefinitely postponed. After this was disposed of, the Report of the Committee, recommending an adjourned session, was called up, and after a protracted and spirited debate, in which Delesdernier, Otis of Hallowell, Perry of Oxford, Carey of Houlton, Fisher of Charlotte, Andrews of Turner, Eastman of Wesley, and MacMahon participated, the question was *lost* by a vote of about two to one. Thus you see the determination of the House to proceed immediately to a consideration of the Report of the Commissioners on the Revised Statutes. It is to be hoped they will give them the consideration they *demand* at their hands, and not let their zeal to save *expense* prevent a thorough revision—so that future Legislatures will have no occasion to pick them to pieces, or patch them over with new enactments. To do this without an extra session, they have got to *work*; and then it will need much patience and perseverence to bring their labors to a successful close, so that they can conscientiously say that their work is *well done*.

Lobby members come in plentifully, and as soon as a few more arrive, so as to constitute a *quorum*, we shall *organize*. Till then, the State will have to suffer for want of our services, only as they are rendered in an *individual* capacity. Make haste, gentlemen, don't let *private* interest keep you at home, when the public good requires your attendance at the capitol.

Per order. DIDO.

THE "CELESTIAL EMPIRE," CASE.

There appears to have been considerable excitement in the Legislature of this State in regard to the contested election case from China. We have room this week to give only the remarks of the member from Oxford, J. J. Perry Esq., in relation to this "vexed question."

Mr. PERRY of Oxford said, that in deciding this important question he had but one desire, and that was to do strict justice to both the claimants. But he had watched the movements of a [illegible] gentlemen of this house, and marked them as somewhat extraordinary. The minority report, under the sanction, undoubtedly, of a large portion of the members, recommended in conclusion that Corydon Cadwick have leave to withdraw, which was tantamount to saying that the gentleman present, Mr. Hunnewell, should retain his seat. The recommendation was pushed forward at one moment, and at the next we saw all these gentlemen voting for a motion to send the question back to the people. To Mr. P. this double dealing seemed as any thing but an indication of a disposition to act justly in the matter.

The whole effort of those who opposed the resolve was now directed to one point—to prove the unconstitutionality of the election. Mr. P. would remind gentlemen that the moment votes for representatives were deposited in the ballot boxes they were under the cognizance of the House of Representatives, which was the absolute judge of its elections; and that no act of town officers subsequent to such deposit could destroy the weight of votes thus thrown except by destroying all satisfactory means of information which might otherwise be obtained by the House.

Mr. P. said he had listened with some amusement to the panegyrics that had been bestowed upon the town of China, in order to bolster up the character of its town officers. It had been said that that was a land of farmers and quakers. It might be added of Doctors too. He was not disposed to disparage the character of the good citizens of China, but in regard to their town officers there was *one prima facie* case made clear, namely, that the Selectmen on the day of the election alluded to, *did not* count a certain quantity of votes, while they averred in their return that they did. Here then, the Selectmen had signed their names to a palpable falsehood, and those who were foremost in this [illegible] might make the most of it.

Mr. P. had spoken of the House being the judge of its own elections. On ordinary occasions the testimony of town officers should be taken in proof. But where fraud was alleged it should not. Was there fraud in this case? What was fraud? A deceptive artifice by which on individual's rights were injured. Was there no such artifice in this case? If not, then no example of it could be found in the catalogue of crime. The first step made by Brainard in counting, bore the marks of fraud. Why did he, when there was ample room for counting the ballots, brush them from the table as fast as he counted? and then why hesitate in his answer when required to state the number he had made? and why refuse to recount, when two respectable men challenged his accuracy? If Dr. Brainard were innocent, these circumstances combined against him in a most unfortunate manner.—In this connection, the conduct of Kempis Clark was not to be overlooked. Why did he, while Gen. Marshall was urging a re-count, stealthily appropriate some three or four votes and make towards the door.

Let gentlemen bear in mind also the two votes which Mr Lincoln brushed from the table, and the subsequent conduct of that officer. It was proved that he denied having brushed off these votes, at one time, and that afterwards the denial was contracted by indubitable proof.

The gentleman from Gardner had said that the people of China were honest, and that they were partly farmers and partly quakers. But did this prove Dr. Brainard to be a quaker, a farmer or an honest man? The people of the State of New Jersey were partly farmers and quakers and honest men; but did that make Governor Pennington, who had outraged the rights of the people of that State and of the whole Union, and entailed an enormous expense upon this republic, either honest or honorable? Did the morals of the Pennsylvania quakers prevent the outrages at Harrisburg, which had sent the authors of them into retirement with blasted

reputations and forlorn political hopes? It struck Mr. P. that the gentleman's reasonings fell rather short of the mark, although he must acknowledge that they were the best that the nature of the case would allow.

Sir, said Mr P. from the evidence in the case, we have good reasons for supposing that the people of China have for several years past been cheated out of their lawful rights; and now, after they have succeeded in electing the man of their choice, shall we add insult to injury by setting aside their sovereign verdict, and deny to them the right of freemen—the right to be heard through the ballot box? Shall the voice of the people be smothered and their rights jeoparded by those who are placed as their *servants* to guard and protect them? Once let it go forth that we, as a House, by official acts, sanction and approve such fraud and baseness, and I would not give a farthing for the right of suffrage. That sacred right which we as a people hold most dear, and cling to, as the foundation of our beautifully formed structure of goverment would be continually violated and outraged—our privileges would be wrested from our hands by base and perfidious demagogues, and we should look for a remedy when it would be too late. If the time shall ever come when the rights of the people shall be trifled with at the ballot box, and their decisions set at nought, from that time we may date our downfall The high hopes and fond expectations of the patriot will end in disappointment and despair, and not a vestage of our former glory will remain as a memento to succeeding generations.

THE BOUNDARY CORRESPODENCE.

Secretary of State to the Governor of Maine.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, Jan. 2, 1840. }

SIR: Your letter of the 23d ult., to the President, has, with its enclosures, been received and referred to this Department. The information therein contained, respecting the alleged occupation by British troops of a portion of the disputed territory, had before reached him from another quarter, and by his direction, had immediately been made the subject of representations from this Department to the British Minister, accompanied by a request that he would communicate such information in relation to the subject as he might have in his possession, or could obtain from the British colonial authorities. Presuming the desired information is to be procured from the last mentioned source, sufficient time has not yet been afforded for that purpose; but I am instructed by the President to state, that so soon again answer is received from the British Minister, its purport shall be communicated to your Excellency.

I have the honor to be, &c.

JOHN FORSYTH.

Hon. John Fairfield,
Governor of Maine.

Mr. Fox to Mr. Forsyth.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 2, 1839.

Information which has been reported to her British Majesty's Government in England, and more recent intelligence which has been conveyed to the undersigned by the British authorities in the Province of New Brunswick, make it the duty of the undersigned, her Britanic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, to call the immediate and serious attention of the Government of the United States to the extensive and unscrupulous (although it is to be hoped and believed unauthorized) acts of encroachment which continue to be carried on by the State of Maine, within the line of the disputed territory.

It is unnecessary here to recapitolate the terms of the several agreements which were entered into in the months of February and March last, first between the Secretary of State of the United States and the undersigned, at Washington, and afterward between the Lieutenant Governor of New Brunswick, the Governor of Maine, and Major General Scott, of the United States army, for the purpose of averting the danger of local collision upon the frontier, pending the final settlement of the boundary question between the Government of Great Britain, and the U. S. The terms of those agreements, and their true intent and meaning, are sufficiently well known. Her Majesty's authorities have, on their part, not only scrupulously adhered to the letter and spirit of the engagements referred to, but they have been desirous upon every occasion of interpreting in the most frank and liberal manner any point upon which a doubt or cavil could arise.

The undersigned, however, regrets to say that the same correct and scrupulous observance has not marked the conduct of the people of Maine, or that of the subordinate officers employed by the government of the State.

The armed posse from the State of Maine which it was agreed upon should be allowed to remain in the disputed territory, within certain limits, for the purpose of guarding the timber upon the disputed lands from waste and spoilation, has already advanced, it appears, far beyond those limits, extending its operations, and its armed occupation of the country, along the whole way from the valley of the Aroostook to the mouth of the Fish river, into the valley of the upper St. John's and, thus into a portion of the Madawaska settlement. All this is clearly at variance with the terms and spirit of the engagement signed by the Governor of Maine, under the sanction and guarantee of Gen. Scott.

The establishments also which have been formed by the persons composing the armed parties, on the banks both of the Aroostook and the Fish river, have assumed an aspect and character more decidedly military, and more resembling a permanent national possession of the country, than can be either required or justified in the civil posse of a land agent, holding, for the sole purpose of preventing trespasses, the temporary occupation of a district which is claimed by two parties, and the title to which is not yet settled between them. These establishments or stations are fortified with entrenchments, and with cannon; and the number of armed men composing their garrison is far greater than the occasion would warrant. A permanent state road is also being constructed from the frontier of Maine into the valley of the Aroostook, and from thence on the south side of the St. John's to the Fish river, the object of which road is to connect those portions of the disputed territory with the towns of Augusta and Bangor and other acknowledged parts of the state of Maine.

It moreover appears that land surveyors, acting under the authority of the State of Maine, are employed in making out lots and townships within the aforesaid portion of the disputed territory, and that sales of lands are being made, with deeds regularly drawn under the authority of the state, as if those lands, lying within a region which her Majesty's government confidently claims to be a rightful possession of the British crown, formed, on the contrary, a recognised part of the public domain of the State of Maine.

It is true that the present course of encroachment, and the wrongful occupation of the land by the citizens of Maine, whether acting as unauthorised individuals, or with the sanction of the authorities of the state, cannot in any way place in jeopardy the eventual rights of Great Britain, for whatever shall be the line of boundary between her Majesty's possessions and the public of the United States, definitely recognised and decided upon by the two governments, either through the attainment of the true line of the treaty of 1783, or through the adoption of a conventional line, her Majesty's government will have to rely upon the federal government of the United States, in conjunction with the government of her Majesty, to assert and carry out the decision, whatever may be the views and pretensions of the inhabitants of the State of Maine notwithstanding.

But it is evident that the establishment, in the mean time, of new interests, and the growing up as it were, of new proprietary claims upon the lands which are yet in dispute, may end by embarrassing the action of both Governments; of the Government to whom the district shall be finally allotted, and of the Govenment which will be called upon definitely to relinquish it.

The same argument has been held, and the same principle has been contended for, by the Government of the United States no less than by the Government of Great Britain. It will be in the immediate recollection of the Government of the United States, that, when in the year 1837 an alleged act, or design rather, of encroachment, of a far less direct or objectionable character than the operations referred to in the present note, namely, the survey of a projected line of railroad from Quebec to St. Andrews, passing through a part of the disputed territory, was complained of, and remonstrated against by the President, her Majesty's Government immediately consented to order that survey to be relinquished. The undersigned cannot doubt but that the Government of the United States will now, on their part, be guided by a similar and reciprocal disposition.

The undersigned, therefore while protesting, in the first place, formally, in the name of his government, against the acts of encroachment by the people of Maine, above enumerated and complained of, urgently, also, and for the ends of peace and good will, appeals to the government of the United States to cause those acts of encroachment to be desisted from, in order that whenever a practical adjustment of the line of boundary shall be obtained, no minor incidental occasions of dispute may remain to obstruct that final and friendly settlement of the controversy, which the undersigned feels persuaded it is the equally earnest desire of both governments to accomplish.

The undersigned avails himself, &c.

H. S. FOX.

Hon John Forsyth.

WAR DEPARTMENT, }
Jan. 22, 1840. }

SIR: In reply to that portion of the resolution of the Senate, referred by your direction to this Department by the Secretary of State, which requests you "to communicate to the Senate, so far as may not be incompatible with the public interest, whether any, and if any, what measures have been taken under the act of Congress of March, 1839, or otherwise, to cause the removal or expulsion of the British troops, which have taken possession of a portion of the territory of Maine, claimed by Great Britain, and especially whether, since the last session of Congress, any military posts have been established in Maine, or any other military measures adopted, preparatory to a just vindication of the honor and rights of the nation and of Maine, as connected with the persevering claim made by Great Britain to a portion of the territory of that State," I have the honor to state, that the circumstance of a portion of the territory of Maine claimed by Great Britain having been occupied by British troops, was recently communicated to the Government, and having been made the subject of remonstrance, and become a matter of discussion between the two Governments, no measures of a character referred to by the resolution have been taken, either under the act of Congress of March, 1839, or otherwise.

A careful military reconnoisance of the undisputed boundary of the State of Maine, was made in 1838, and the result submitted to the Senate during the last session of Congress; but as no appropriation was made for the erection of fortifications on the sites selected for that purpose, none were commenced; and as is fully set forth in your last annual message to Congress, it did not appear, that the contingency contemplated by the act alluded to had occurred, no military measures whatever were demanded necessary, or were adopted.

Very respectfully, your most ob't servant,

J. R. POINSETT.

To the President of the United States.

Mr. Fox to Mr. Forsyth.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 26, 1840.

The undersigned, her Britanic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, has the honor to acquaint Mr. Forsyth, Secretary of State of the United States, that since the date of his last official note of the 12th instant, he has been furnished by her Majesty's authorities in North America with more correct information than he then possessed, respecting certain reported movements of British troops within the disputed territory, which formed the subject of a part of that official note, as well as of the two official notes addressed by the Secretary of State to the undersigned on the 24th of December, and on the 16th of the present month. The same reported movements of troops were referred to in a recent message from the Governor of Maine to the Legislature of the State, and also in a published official letter addressed by the Governor of Maine to the President of the United States, on the 23d of December.

It appears from accurate information now in the possession of the undersigned, that the Governor of Maine, and through him the President and general government of the United States, have been misinformed as to the facts. In the first place no reinforcement has been marched to the British post at the Lake Temiscounta; the only change occurring there has been the relief of a detachment of her Majesty's 24th regiment of equal force of the 11th regiment—this force of one company being stationed at the Temiscounata post, as it always has been, for the necessary purpose of protecting the stores and accommodations provided for the use of her Majesty's troops, who may be required, as heretofore, to march by that route to and from the Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick. In the second place, it is not true that the British authorities either have built or are building barracks on both sides of St. John's river, or at the mouth of the Madawaska; no new barracks have in fact been built any where. In the third place, her Majesty's authorities are not concentrating a military force at the Grand Falls. The same trifling force of sixteen men is now stationed at the post of the Grand Falls, which has been stationed there for the last twelve months. It was perhaps, however, needless for the undersigned to advert to this last matter at all, as the post of the Grand Falls is beyond the bounds of the disputed territory, and within the acknowledged limits of New Brunswick.

The undersigned, while conveying the above information upon a matter of fact, to the Secretary of State of the United States, takes occasion to repeat distinctly his former declaration, that there exists no intention on the part of Her Majesty's authorities to infringe the terms of those provisional agreements which were entered into at the beginning of last year, so long as there is reason to trust that the same will be faithfully adhered to by the opposite party. But it is the duty of the undersigned, at the same time, clearly to state, that Her Majesty's authorites in North America, taking into view the attitude assumed by the State of Maine, with reference to the boundary question, will, as at present advised, be governed entirely by circumstances in adopting such measures of defence and protection, (whether along the confines of the disputed territory, or within that portion of it where, it has been before explained, the authority of Great Britain, according to the existing agreements, was not to be interfered with,) as may seem to them necessary for guarding against, or for promptly repelling, the farther acts of hostile aggression over the whole of the disputed territory, which it appears to be the avowed design of the State of Maine sooner or later to attempt.

For the undersigned has to observe, that not only is the extensive system of encroachment, which was denounced and remonstrated against by the undersigned in his official note of the 2d of last November, still carried on and persisted in by armed bands, employed by the authorities of Maine in the districts above the Aroostook and Fish rivers, but that acts, as above stated, of a character yet more violent and obnoxious to the rights of Great Britain, and more dangerous to the preservation of the general peace, are with certainty meditated by the inhabitants of that State. The existence of such designs has for months past been a matter of notoriety by public report; those designs were plainly indicated in the recent message of the Governor of Maine to the Legislature of the State; and they are avowed in more explicit terms in the letter addressed to the President of the United States by the Governer of Maine, on the 21st of November, which letter has, within the last few days, been communicated to Congress and published.

The undersigned, it is true, has been assured by the Secretary of State, in his note of the 16th instant, that the General Government see no reason to doubt the disposition of the Governor of Maine to adhere to the existing arrangements, and to avoid all acts tending to render more difficult and distant the final adjustment of the boundary question. But in face of the above clear indications of the intentions of Maine, as given out by the parties themselves, the Secretary of State has not given to the undersigned any adequate assurance that Maine will be constrained to desist from carrying those intentions into effect, if, contrary to the expectation of the general Government, the Legislature or the Executive of the State should think fit to make the atempt.

The undersigned not only preserves the hope, but he entertains the firm belief, that if the duty of negotiating the boundary question be left in the hands of the two national Governments, to whom, of right, it belongs, the difficulty of conducting the negotiation to an amicable issue will not be found so great as has been by many persons apprehended. But the case will become wholly altered, if the people of the State of Maine, who, though interrested in the result, are not charged with the negotiation, shall attempt to interrupt it by violence.

Her Majesty's authorities in North America have, on their part, no desire or intention to interfere with the course of the pending negotiation, by an exertion of military force; but they will, as at present advised, consult their own discretion in adopting the measures of defence that may be rendered necessary by threats of a violent interruption to the negotiation, which have been used by all parties in Maine, and which the undersigned regrets to find confirmed by the language (as above referred to) employed by the highest official authority in that state.

The undersigned avails himself &c.

H. S. FOX.

The Hon. JOHN FORSYTH, &c. &c.

Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Fox.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }
WASHINGTON, 28th Jan. 1840. }

The undersigned, Secretary of State of the United States, has the honor to reply, by direction of the President, to the note addressed to him on the 26th inst., by Mr. Fox, Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain.

The President derives great satisfaction from the information conveyed by Mr. Fox's note, that with reference to the reported movements of British troops within the territory in dispute, no actual change has taken place in the attitude of her Majesty's authorities in the territory, since the arrangements entered into by the two Governments at the commencement of last year, for the preservation of tranquility within its limits; and from his assurances that there exists no intention on the part of her Majesty's authorities to infringe the terms of those arrangements, so long as they are faithfully observed on the side of the United States.

The President, however, cannot repress a feeling of regret that the British colonial authorities, without graver motives than the possibility of a depapture from the arrangements referred to, by the State of Maine, should take upon themselves the discretion, and, along with it, the fearful responsibility of probable consequences, of being guided by circumstances, liable as these are to be misapprehended and misjudged, in the adoption, within the disputed territory, of measures of defence and precaution, in manifest violation of the understanding between the two countries, whenever they may imagine that acts of hostile aggression over the disputed territory are meditated or threatened on the part of the State of Maine. The President cannot but hope that, when her Majesty's Government at home shall be apprised of the position assumed in this regard by its colonial agents, proper steps will be taken to place the performance of express and solemn agreements upon a more secure basis than colonial discretion, to be exercised on apprehended disregard of such agreements on the part of the State of Maine.

It is gratifying to the President to perceive that Mr. Fox entertains the firm belief that the difficulty of conducting to an amicable issue the pending negotiation for the adjustment of the question of boundary is not so great as by many persons apprehended. As, under a corresponding conviction, the United States have with a view to the final settlement of that exciting question, submitted a proposition for the consideration of her Majesty's Government, the President hopes that the sentiments expressed by Mr. Fox have their foundation in an expectation of his having it in his power at an early day to communicate to this Government a result of the deliberations had by that of her Britannic Majesty upon the proposition alluded to, which will present the prospect of a prompt and satisfactory settlement, and which, when known by the State of Maine, will put an end to all grounds of apprehension of intentions or disposition on her part to adopt any measure calculated to embarrass the negotiation, or to involve a departure from the provisional arrangements.

In the existence of those arrangements, the United States behold an earnest of the mutual desire of the two governments to divest a question, abounding in causes of deep and growing excitement, as much as possible of the asperity and hostile feeling it is calculated to engender; but unless attended with the most scrupulous observance of the spirit and letter of their provisions, it would prove but one more cause added to the many already prevailing, of enmity and discord.

Mr. Fox has already been made the channel of conveyance to his Government of the desire and determination of the President that the obligations of the country shall be faithfully discharged; that desire is prompted by a sense of expediency as well as of justice, and by an anxious wish to preserve the amicable relations now, so manifestly for the advantage of both, subsisting between the United States and Great Britain.

The undersigned avails himself, &c.,

JOHN FORSYTH.

HENRY S. FOX, Esq. &c. &c.

FIRE, AND GREAT DESTRUCTION OF PROPERTY IN NEW YORK.—On Monday evening last, at 7 o'clock, a fire was discovered in the four story brick store, No. 164, South street, which, with its contents, was destroyed. The roofs of the adjoining stores took fire, including those of Thomas H. Smith's large five story stores, owned by Peter Lorillard, Jr. in which were stored two entire Canton cargoes, viz: of the Nantasket, owned in Boston, and the Covington, owned in Baltimore, besides other merchandise of a large amount. By great exertions the fire was checked, and it was supposed extinguished, after the roofs had been burnt through in several places, considerable damage having been done to some part of the goods. After the members of the fire department were dispered, the fire broke out anew, on Tuesday morning, and a vast destruction of property took place, estimated at not less than a million of dollarss. Much of it was insured, and a large amount in this city. We learn that the amount on the property lost, insured at the offices in this city, is ascertained to be $135,000.—*Boston Patriot.*

FIRE.—The Carpet Factory owned by Edmund Little, Thomas B. Little and Ira Purington, at Lewiston Falls, was last evening, Feb. 3, destroyed by fire. The fire originated in the room used for drying wool, and although discovered in a few minutes after it took fire, it spread with such rapidity that it was soon found to be impossible to save the building, or any of its contents.

The loss to the owners, at the lowest estimate, is not less than seven thousand dollars. There was no insurance. The loss falls heavily upon one of our most enterprising business men, Mr. Thomas B. Little, who, after pursuing his way through many discouragements, had succeeded in getting the establishment under good way.—By this event, too, six families are deprived of the immediate means of obtaining subsistence, and others turned out of employ.

Much credit is due to citizens and others, for their promptness to attend the fire, and for their exertions in saving some of the out buildings connected with the factory.—*Augusta Age.*

FIRE.—A small unoccupied dwelling house, situated on Bridge street, owned by Mr. I. N. Sargent, was entirely consumed by fire on Monday night last. The building, we understand, was insured for $600, which will probably nearly cover the loss.—*Ib.*

In the House, yesterday, the fifteen gallon Act was definitely disposed of, by the passage of a bill for its unconditional repeal, as well be seen by the yeas and nays. It went to the Senate, and was forthwith taken up, and referred to a committee who will report it this morning, we expect, without amendment, and it will doubtless be passed, and signed by the Governor, forthwith. Thus shall we see this abortion in legislation fairly buried, and posterity may write its epitaph.—*Boston Post.*

KIDNAPPERS PUNISHED.—At the late term of the Court of Common Pleas, held at Worcester, Mass. "Dickinson, Shearer and Elias Turner, were tried for kidnapping a colored boy from Worcester to Virginia to be sold as a slave. Verdict, guilty; Shearer was sentenced two days solitary confinement, and 7 years hard labor in the State Prison at Charlestown. Sentence upon Turner was suspended and the case was carried to the Supreme Court by appeal."

THE CITY OF FIRES.—So New York has been called, and it bids fair to deserve the cognomen. The aggregate destruction of property in the city within the last two months, is at least THREE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS!—*N. Y. Jour. of Com.*

NOTICE TO POSTMASTERS. Arrogements have been made to receive the North Dixmont, and Plymouth Mails, at Dixmont P. O. All packages for either of the above offices, should be sent on the Augusta and Bangor route; a little attention to this, on the part of Postmasters, will save them the trouble of sending such packages all over the Counties of Kennebec and Penobscot, as they have had to do lately.

We understand the bills of all the Rhode Island Banks are now received at the Suffolk Bank, except the Rhode Island Central, at East Greenwich.—*Boston Courier.*

OPIUM SMUGGLING.—British ships are smuggling Opium into China by the fleet load, the clumsy China junks being unable to cope with the well armed and well manned merchantmen of Great Britain.

The Governor of Pennsylvania at present is in very delicate health, and has not been in the Executive Chamber since the commencement of the session.

Counterfeit Bills are in circulation—fives of the Maine Bank, Portland, and three of the State Bank, Boston.—*Bangor Courier.*

Augustus A. Porter, Esq., (Federal) of Detroit, has been elected United States Senator from the State of Michigan.

MARRIED.

In Gardner, Mr. Edward B. Swan and Miss Sarah W. Davis.

In China, Mr. Daniel L. Plummer and Miss Harriet S. Witham.

In Augusta, Mr. John Prescott of Readfield, and Miss Emeline E. Sanford, of Augusta.

In Bath, John F. Mareen, Esq. of Phipsburg, and Miss Rachael Wormwood, of Bath.

In Bath, Mr. Stephen Jewell and Miss Sarah Marston.

In Portland, Mr. Henry Towle and Miss Adeline Hall.

DIED.

In this town, on the 4th instant, of consumption, George Leslie, youngest son of Col. H. R. Parsons, aged 7 years and 8 months.

In this town, Chloe, daughter of Benj. Peterson, Jr. aged about 10 years.

On board ship Massachusetts, on her passage from Thomaston to New Orleans, 16th ult., of consumption, Mr. R. T. Cushing, of Thomaston.

In Anson, 11th ult., Edwin, son of James Collins, Esq. aged 19 years.

In Winthrop, Mrs. Abigail Clock, relict of the late Lewis Clock, aged 50.

In Somersworth, 5th ult. Mr. Andrew Witham, aged 86 years.

NOTICE OF FORECLOSURE.

WHEREAS, Oliver Griswold, of Fryeburg, in the county of Oxford, and State of Maine, physician, deceased, by his Deed, dated the tenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one, recorded in the Oxford Registry of Deeds, on the twenty-seventh day of the same July, Liber nine, Folio forty and forty-one, conveyed to Catharine Codman, of Boston, in the county of Suffolk, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, widow, deceased, of whose last Will and Testament the undersigned is Executor, the following described tract of intervale land, situate in said Fryeburg, and bounded as follows, viz: beginning at a stake and stones on the westerly side of Saco river, and running north forty-five degrees, west by the original line of Fryeburg and Brownfield eighty-two rods and eighteen links to a stone bound, being on the line of a piece of land containing three acres, formerly conveyed by the late Henry Young Brown to Phillip Eastman; thence running north eighty-three degrees, west forty-five rods and two links, or thereabouts, to New Hampshire line; thence by New Hampshire line to a stone; thence south eighty-one degrees, east one hundred and seven rods, by an oak tree spotted, to another tree on the bank of Saco river, and thence on the same course to the Saco river; thence by and down said river, as it tends to the bounds begun at; containing, after deducting two hundred and nineteen square rods, laid out and occupied for a town road, thirty-one acres, three roods, and twenty-one square rods; being the same conveyed to said Griswold by said Catherine and Elizabeth Codman. Which Deed was a deed of Mortgage conditional, for the payment of fourteen hundred and thirty-five dollars and sixty-six cents, in three equal annual payments, with interest to the date of said mortgage. And the condition of said Mortgage having been broken, I, as the Executor of the last Will and Testament of the said Catharine Codman, and for the benefit of the estate, do, by reason thereof, claim to foreclose the Mortgage aforesaid; and this public notice is given for the purpose of foreclosing the same, equally to the provisions of the Statute in that case provided.

HENRY CODMAN, Executor.

Dated this 3d day of February, A. D 1840. 3w26

MORTGAGEE'S NOTICE.

WHEREAS, John Farrington of Andover, County of Oxford, State of Maine, by his Attorney, James Buchanan, by his deed of Morigage, dated the ninth day of April, A. D. 1836, and recorded with the Records of Deeds for the County of Oxford, Book 48, page 550, mortgaged to Bartholomew Hounsfield, three several parcels of land, situated in the south half of Letter B, in said county of Oxford, as surveyed by Solomon Adams, being No. 52, 64, and that half of No. 65, to secure the payment of one hundred and seventy-eight dollars and ninety eight cents; and whereas the conditions of said Mortgage Deed have been broken by said Farrington, I therefore claim to foreclose the said Mortgage, as provided by the laws of the said State.

BARTHOLOMEW HOUNSFIELD,
By his Attorney, CHA'S VAUGHAN.
Hallowell, Feb. 8, 1840. 3w26

MORTGAGEE'S NOTICE.

WHEREAS Silvanus L. Mitchell, and Nathan D. Hyde, late of Boston, Massachusetts, by their Deed of Mortgage, dated the 5th day of August, 1835, and recorded among the Records of Deeds for the County of Oxford, Book 45, page 248, mortgaged to Bartholomew Hounsfield, three undivided fourth parts of a certain township of land lying in the county of Oxford, and State of Maine, known and described as township Letter B, excepting certain Lots formerly sold by said Hounsfield; and whereas the conditions of said Mortgage Deed have been broken by said Mitchell and Hyde, I therefore claim to foreclose said Mortgage.

BARTHOLOMEW HOUNSFIELD,
By his Attorney, CHARLES VAUGHAN.
Hallowell, Feb. 8, 1840. 3w26

THE subscriber hereby gives public notice to all concerned that he has been duly appointed and taken upon himself the trust of Administrator on the Estate of

WILLIAM HASKELL, Jr.,

late of Canton, in the county of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests all persons who are indebted to the said deceased's estate to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to JOHN HEARSEY.

Canton, Jan. 20, 1840. 3w26

POETRY.

A DREAM.

BY T. HAYNES BAYLEY.

It was a dream of perfect bliss,
Too beautiful to last,
It seemed to welcome back again
The bright days of the past!
I was a boy—my mimic ship
Sail'd down the village stream,
And I was gay and innocent—
But ah! it was a dream!

And soon I left the childish toy
For those of manhood's choice,
The beauty of a woman's form,
The sweetness of her voice;
I thought she gave me blameless love,
The nursling of esteem—
And that such love I merited;
But ah! it was a dream!

I saw my falsehood wound her heart,
I saw her cheek grow pale,
But o'er her fate the vision threw
A bright delusive veil;
I thought she liv'd and that I saw
Our bridal torches gleam;
And I was happy with my bride—
But ah! it was a dream!

From the Maine Democrat.

GOVERNOR MORTON'S ADDRESS

To the Legislature of Massachusetts, is a document of great depth and exceeding power.—It embodies a compendium of republican principles, a developement of correct Legislative action, which may serve as a standard around which the Democracy of Massachusetts may rally with generous enthusiasm. If there really exists in that Commonwealth that high state of intelligence and that warm feeling of patriotism, which are so confidently claimed as the boast and the peculiarity of her citizens, then we say that the principles set forth in that Address, must be warmly approved and coincided in by the great mass of her intelligent and patriotic people. That its vein of argument runs counter to the wishes and schemings of the *privileged few*, is but a stronger and surer indication of its being still more warmly responded to by the *republican many*. With such a chart of correct principles to guide them, it seems to us impossible for the Democracy of Massachusetts to err or to wander from the true path.—They must *pogress* and *triumph*. We should be glad to enrich our columns with liberal extracts from this Address. But our limits prescribe us to the following only:

'If we carefully analyze the distresses which have pervaded the financial world, and in our banking system for the radical infirmities from which they have sprung, I believe they may nearly all be traced to two essential vices.—The first is its character of monopoly; the second is its too wide expansion and departure from the specie basis, leaving not sufficient specie in circulation for the security of a uniform currency.'

There is good sense and sound doctrine in the following. They will apply to the other States as well as Massachusetts:

'We present the extraordinary spectacle of a State, rich in its internal resources, in the treasures it draws from the ocean, in the accumulated capital of many years of labor and economy, in the habitual industry and frugality of its inhabitants, and in the export of the surplus of its fisheries and manufactures—narrow and compact in its territory, dense in its population, advanced in civilization and in moral and intellectual refinement, with the most facile and convenient means of intercommunication—in short, so surrounded with natural and artificial advantages, as to be capable of the best possible government at the least possible expense—during a period of peace and productiveness, annually incurring debts to meet its current expenses. Fellow Citizens, duty to our constituents, justice to posterity, demand a reform. Our means of raising money are ample and available. Whatever hereafter may be needed to pay our existing debts or eventual liabilities, should be fearlessly called for.—The people, if convenient, will honorably respond to the call. But they have a right to require strict economy and accountability.—And, in my opinion, a resort to taxation is wholly unneccessary. Our present revenue is amply sufficient to meet all our necessary expenses. Let retrenchment be a substitute for taxation. Our expenditures have been unnecessarily large. Let them be diminished. Economy, though more difficult to be practised, is a high virtue in public admihistrations, as well as in private life. It should be a fixed principle in both, to keep down the expenses below the income. The cost of administering our government has been progressively increasing, and in the last fifteen years has more than doubled. It should be reduced. Increase is more easy than reduction. But retrenchment is practicable, and must be introduced. The people, as they have a right to do, imperiously require it. Look into the different sources of expenture. If any are excessive, reduce them; if any are unnecessary, cut them off. If there be any supernumerary officers or any agencies or commissions not immediately necessary for the public good, abolish them. If any of the public servants are paid too much, reduce their compensation. True economy requires that the State should employ no more agents than are needed for the proper transaction of the public business, and that they should receive a compensation which will command suitable talents, and will be a fair equivalent for the services rendered. But let nothing be added for vain show or ostentatious display—nothing on account of family or friends; nothing for political services or partizan efforts.'

A CHAPTER ON HATS.—There is no people so ingenious at expedients as the Yankees. A Yankee editor down in Lowell, who ought to know all about it, gives us a chapter on the uses of hats, which is very good in its way, though the custom spoken of is not so strictly a New England one as represented. "It would never," says the aforesaid Yankee editor, "enter the heads of persons out of New England to use their hats for any other purpose than as a covering for their heads. In other parts of the globe, when a man bows graciously to a friend he takes off his hat. Such a custom cannot be adopted here; for a man's hat is his pocket book, his satchel, his pantry, his clothes bag, his tool chest, or his segar box, as occasion may require, and if he should take off his hat in a hurry, awkward circumstances must needs ensue. We once knew a young gentleman, who having purchased a dozen of eggs for his mother, forthwith popped them into his hat. On his way home he met a pretty girl, with whose charms he had long been smitten, and wishing to be particularly polite, he took off his hat preparatory to making the low bow. The twelve eggs, obeying the laws of gravitation, were precipitated to the pavement, and instatly smashed to atoms; and the beautiful white garment of the astonished girl was bespattered with the yolks. She never forgave him.

How often during a windy day, do we see a hatless wight chasing a cloud of papers, which have made their escape, and are borne away on the wings of the wind.

It has been remarked by foreigners that the natives of New England are generally round shouldered. This is undoubtedly owing to the enormous weight which they carry on their heads. A lawyer is seldom seen with a green bag in his hand. His legal documents, and sometimes his law books, are deposited in his hat. A physician's hat is not unfrequently an apothecary's shop in miniature; a merchant's hat is crammed with samples of merchandize; and a stage driver's hat is stuffed with bundles and packages. A person about to make a short journey, seldom burthens himself with a trunk, but takes a change of apparel in his hat. A late member of the Massachusetts Legislature, who represented a town not more than twenty miles from Boston, always carried his dinner to the StateHouse in his hat; and we have seldom seen the hat of an editor, which was not stuffed with damp newspapers, stolen paragraphs and unanswered duns!"

PROFOUND LIMB OF THE LAW.—In the course of a trial, held at a neighboring city, a short time since, an eminent counsellor, well known as a practitioner in bombastic, inflated, and ridiculous language, put the following questions to a witness:

"Did you see Mr. B. raise his muscular arm, and attempt to force and coerce a preponderation of the timidity and fears of my client?"

"Sir?"

"Did not Mr. B. attempt to strike the plaintiff?"

"Yes, sir."

"From your situation, did you not possess the most commanding view of the altercation; and was there any thing interfering between you and the objects, that could in any wise dim your opticular faculties, or create any obtuseness of vision?"

"Sir?"

"I say, were not your organs of sight in a situation to have a clear, unclouded, and bright view of this most villainous, despicable, unnatural, foul, outrageous, enormous, rancorous, and bloody transaction?"

"Sir?"

"Did you not plainly see Mr. B. knock Mr. D. down?"

"Yes, sir I did."

☞ Every body has heard of Munden's daily apothegem, 'charity begins at home.' Joe, as it is pretty well known, was once at a dinner party placed before a haunch of venison and requested to carve it. 'Really, gentlemen,' said he,' 'I do declare I know very little about table anatomy; I dare say now there is some particular cut in a haunch; some favorite *bon morceau*; I dare say there is; but I assure yo I am quite ignorant where to pick for it.' A dozen knives instantly started from the cloth, and Munden was instructed where the rich meat lay. Joe uttered a long string of thanks, worked out a prime slice, loaded it with sauce and jelly, and then with the plate in his hand, looked through his glasses round the table.—Every hand was ready, and every tooth prepared. 'Really, gentlemen,' said the comedian, 'I wish I could please you; but if I give the tit bit to one I shall offend the rest; so egad,' added he, 'I'll keep it myself, and let every gentleman help himself to what he likes best.'

THE BLOOD HOUNDS.—The Government has nothing to do with the introduction of the Blood Hounds into this country, to aid in the Florida war. The Globe says, in speaking on this subject:—

"The Florida papers announce the arrival of Col. FITZPATRICK, from the island of Cuba, with a pack of blood hounds, imported, as we understand, by the authorities of the Territory. We have ascertained that the War Department is only acquainted with the circumstance through public rumor, and knows nothing of the matter officially. It does not surprise us that the inhabitants of a country, which has been so cruelly desolated, and when every hearthstone is sprinkled with blood, should resort to any imaginable means to protect their families from the prowling and murderous savages."

ADVICE TO YOUNG LADIES.—If you have blue eyes you need not leer; if you have pretty ankles there is no occasion to wear short petticoats, and if you are doubtful as to that point, there can be no harm in letting them be long; if you have good teeth, do not laugh for the purpose of showing them; if you have bad ones, by all means shut your mouth and smile; if you have pretty arms and hands, there can be no objection to your playing on the harp; if you are disposed to be clumsy, work tapestry; if you dance well, dance but seldom; if ill, never dance at all; if you sing well, make no previous excuses; if you sing indifferently, hesitate not a moment when you are asked, for few people are judges of singing, but every one will be sensible of your desire to please; if you would obtain power, be condescending; but above all, (mark!) if you are asked to be married, say "Yes!" for you will never be asked a second time.

LAUGHTER.—No man who has once heartily and decidedly laughed, can be altogether irreclaimably bad. How much lies in laughter—the cypher-key wherewith we decipher the whole man! Some men wear an everlasting simper; in the smile of others lies a cold glitter as of ice; the fewest are able to laugh what may be called laughing, but only sniff and titter and sniffer from the throat outwards, or at best produce some whiffling husky cachination, as if they were laughing through wool. Of none such comes good. The man who cannot laugh is not only fit for treason, strategems, and spoils, but his whole life is already a treason and strategem.—*Carlyle.*

"WE ARE ALL MUD!"—A young nigger attending a Philadelphia Sunday School, being examined in the Church catechism, was asked, "What are you made of, Jack?" "Of mud, massa," said Ebony. On being told he should say "of dust," he replied, "No massa, it no do—no stick togedder."

☞ Are you depressed? The best plan is to laugh, or try to laugh, at every thing that makes others weep; and then you can afford to weep, if you like, when others laugh. The difference between sin and crime is this; sin is that which is wrong; crime, that which is *made* to be so. The first receives its character from man.

WHAT CONSUMATE FOLLY.—Half a dozen brothers, four uncles, and a gray headed father trying to stop a young girl from getting married to the man she loves, and who loves her, just as if rope ladders were out of date, and all the horses in the world spavined!

A young lady being asked to subscribe to the Lady's Book, replied with a quiet wink of the left eye, that she had already agreed to take a *Ladies Companion.*

DEFAULTERS.—We believe every defaulter (there may be a solitory exception) to Government, is a rank, bitter and deadly enemy to Mr. Van Buren and his administration, and are worshipers and supporters, so far as in them lies, of the corrupt and unprincipled opposition.—*Belfast Journal*

A GOOD MOVE.—In the House of Representatives of this State, a move has been made to choose the Representatives to Congress by a general ticket. Amen. This State is democratic, and yet she is not so represented in Congress. If the State is for the administration, let her so be represented. If she is opposed to the measures of the administration, let it be so. Let us have no milk and water.—Let us be one thing or the other. Let Maine not neutralize her influence by sending one set of men to oppose another set, whereby the weight of the State, in a measure, is lost.—Let us serve God or Mammon.—*Belfast Journal.*

GUARDIAN'S SALE.

BY virtue of license from the Probate Court of the County of Oxford, I shall sell at Public Auction, on Monday the twentieth day of April next, at two o'clock, P. M., unless previously disposed of at private sale, all the interest of Mehitable S. Frye, Lydia A. Frye, Cordelia C. Frye, minor children of John H. Frye, late of Fryeburg, deceased, have in and to the homestead farm of their late father, situated in Fryeburg, consisting of three-fifths of the land, barn, and outbuildings, and two-fifths of the dwelling house. Said farm is supposed to contain forty-four acres of intervale, and fifty-eight acres of upland, on which there are a good wood lot, a good white maple sugar place, a well finished dwelling house, a corn house and barn, and two good wells of water. Sale on the premises. Terms made known at the time and place of sale.

THOMAS S. EVANS,
Guardian of said Minors.

Fryeburg, Jan. 29, 1840.

The remainder of said farm will be sold at the time and place aforesaid, reserving therefrom one third of the dwelling house and cellar, for the use and during the life of Miss Lydia Frye.
3w25

At a Court of Probate holden at Fryeburg within and for the County of Oxford, on the twenty first day of January in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty.

JOSIAH HEALD, Administrator of the estate of Enoch Heald late of Lovell in said county, deceased, having presented his first account of administration of the estate of said deceased,

Ordered,

That the said Administrator give notice to all persons interested, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be holden at Paris in said county, on the third day of March next, at ten of the clock in the forenoon, and shew cause, if any they have, why the same should not be allowed—

LYMAN RAWSON, Judge.
3w24 Copy, Attest—Levi Stowell, Register.

THE subscriber hereby gives public notice to all concerned, that he has been duly appointed and taken upon himself the trust of Administrator on the estate of

ZECHARIAH GIBSON,

late of Brownfield, in the county of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs,—He therefore requests all persons who are indebted to the said deceased's estate, to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to

TIMOTHY GIBSON
Brownfield Jan. 21, 1840. 3w24

COLLECTOR'S NOTICE—*Waterford*.

NOTICE is hereby given to the non resident proprietors and owners of land in Waterford, in the county of Oxford, that the same are taxed for A. D. 1838, for County and Town Taxes—School District tax, and deficiencies of the Highway tax for A. D. 1837, in bills committed to me the undersigned Collector of said Waterford, and remain unpaid as follows, to wit:

Owners names.	No. Lot.	No. Range.	Acres	Value. $	Town and County Tax	Sch'l District Tax.	Deficient Highway Tax. 1837.	Total
Calvin Powers,	1	9	60	50	$1 25		93	$2 18
Eben. Jewett, Jr's. farm,			80	120	3 00			3 00
G R Kimball, Is'c Watson farm,			60	150	1 87			1 87
L. C. Jones's house & land,			2	50	1 25			1 25
WC Whitney Tavern stand,			2	556	13 75			13 75
WC Whitney Sumner Stow farm,			185	450	11 25			11 25
WC Whitney	8	14	80	45	1 13			1 13
do. W. part	7	14	2					
W. C. Whitney	12	12	160	10	25			25
WC Whitney undivided h'f	11	13	80	12	30			30
Rufus Chadborn's farm,	12	3	160	75	1 88			1 88
Eugene Carter's farm,			16	100	2 50			2 50
S'm'l Wheeler farm,			50	50	1 25		40	1 65
Unknown,	12	1	160	20	50			50
do. west half	12	5	30	20	50			50
J Chadbern	1	9	50	40	1 00			1 00
C. F. Jones,	11	11	160	50	1 25		93	2 18
C. F. Jones,	11	12	160	25	63		46	1 09
Unknown, South half,	11	6	80	38	95			95
J & T Green,	1	13	160	20	25		28	53
Benj. Kimball's house,	5	1	15	37			68	68
W E Haskin farm,			46	225			4 16	4 16
Calvin Powers,	3	14	160	160			1 85	1 85
W Foster N p't	3	1	18	20		68		68
Dan'l Green, west part,	1	1	30	15		51		51
Jas. Chadbern,	4	14	160	106		2 97		2 97

Now unless said taxes and all necessary intervening charges are paid, I shall proceed to sell at public auction to the highest bidder, at the house of William Noble, in said Waterford, on Monday, the eleventh day of May next, 1840, so much of said lands as shall be sufficient to discharge said Taxes and necessary charges.

ROWLAND H GERRY,
Collector of Waterford for the year 1838.
Waterford, Jan 30, 1840.

NOTICE OF FORECLOSURE.

I, THE subscriber, hold a mortgage deed given by Joseph B Morton to Samuel J Durell, and assigned by said Durell to me, of a certain tract or parcel of land situated in Paris, county of Oxford, bounded as follows, viz beginning on the westerly side of the road leading from Stowell's Mills, so called, to Norway, at the South-easterly corner of land formerly owned by Cyprian Hall, thence northerly on the line of the land formerly owned by said Hall, twenty rods to a stake and stones; thence easterly by land owned by Elias Stowell, Esq. eight rods to a stake and stones; thence southerly by said land formerly owned by said Stowell, twenty rods to the road aforesaid; thence on said road to the first mentioned ground,—containing one acre. The condition of said mortgage deed having been broken by said Morton, by reason thereof, I claim to foreclose said Mortgage.

LEVI THAYER.
Paris, Jan 25, 1840. 2w24

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Maine, in Legislature assembled at Augusta, on the first Wednesday of January, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty,—

THE undersigned, proprietors and owners of the Congregational Meeting House in the town of Norway, respectfully represent that said Meeting House has become old, out of repair, and inconvenient, and the said proprietors are desirous to sell the same for the purpose of erecting a new one in its place.

They therefore pray your honorable body that they may be duly and legally authorized to make sale of the same, and divide the proceeds among said proprietors and owners, and as in duty bound will ever pray.

(Signed) JACOB BRADBURY & 41 others.

STATE OF MAINE.

IN SENATE

JANUARY 17, 1840.

On the Petition aforesaid, *Ordered*, That the Petitioners cause an attested copy of their Petition, with this Order thereon, to be published in the Oxford Democrat, a weekly paper printed in Paris, two weeks successively, the last publication to be ten days at least, before the third Wednesday of February next, that all persons interested, may then appear, and shew cause, if any they have, why the prayer of said Petition should not be granted.

Read and accepted.

Sent down for concurrence.

WILLIAM TRAFTON, Secretary.

IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JANUARY 18, 1840.

Read and concurred.

ELBRIDGE GERRY, Clerk.

A true copy—Attest:

WILLIAM TRAFTON,
Secretary of the Senate

At a Court of Probate held at Fryeburg within and for the County of Oxford on the twenty first day of January in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty.

ON the petition of DANIEL BEAN, Administrator of the estate of Ebenezer Walker late of Brownfield in said county, deceased, representing that the personal estate of said deceased is not sufficient to pay the just debts, which he owed at the time of his death, by the sum of two hundred and seventy one dollars, and eighty eight cents and praying for a license to sell and convey so much of the real estate of said deceased, as may be necessary, for the payment of said debts and incidental charges:

Ordered,

That the petitioner give notice thereof to the heirs of said deceased, and to all persons interested in said estate, by causing a copy of this order to be published three weeks successively in the Oxford Democrat printed at Paris, that they may appear at a Probate Court to be held at Paris, in said county, on the third day of March, next at ten of the clock in the forenoon, and shew cause, if any they have, why the prayer of said petition should not be granted.

LYMAN RAWSON, Judge.
3w24 Copy, Attest—*Levi Stowell*, Register.

J. T. CLARK,
SADDLE, HARNESS, AND TRUNK MAKER,

HAS taken the stand formerly occupied by N. M. MARBLE, where will will be found a good assortment of Harness work, which he will sell cheap for Cash or Country Produce.

600 bushels of OATS wanted in exchange for the above, for which the highest price will be paid.

Paris, Dec. 10, 1839. tf 17

ANDREW THOMPSON,
TAILOR.

RESPECTFULLY informs the inhabitants of Paris and vicinity that he has taken a Shop near Messrs. Crocker & Shaw's Store, on Paris-Hill, where all business in his line will be promptly and faithfully attended to. He respectfully solicits a share of public patronage. Cutting done at short notice.

Paris, August, 15 1839. tf

SOMETHING TO

THINK ABOUT.

PAIN cannot exist but from *Corrupt Particles* being seated in the identical part where the pain is experienced. These corrupt particles when in great volume (quantity) are the *Positive cause of death.*

It is a solemn truth that corruption terminates the existence of all created beings; the importance of its speedy removal from the body, when by any causes it has accumulated, is therefore self evident; not only *Health*, but existence, being absolutely endangered by its existence.

Let us then acknowledge that the only sure means of preventing and curing disease, is the speedy removal of *Corrupt Humors* from the body. *Disease* being only another name for *Corruption*, and *Corruption* or *Corrupt Humors* being identified in all cases as *Impurity of Blood.*

Purgative Medicine, when resorted to in season, that is while there is there is sufficient vitality remaining in the system, will certainly remove corruption; thus the blood is purified; thus chronic diseases and premature death are prevented; thus those whose lives are of the utmost consequence to their country, and families, are often saved.

The importance of this discovery of curing diseases after ages will do justice: Dr. Benjamin Brandreth will not then be styled an 'ignorant pretender.' But that will neither please nor offend him; in the rectitude of his own acts, in the quiet of his own conscience, is his reward. And he gives this his *solemn pledge* that his medicine shall be always equal to what it ever has been; and that no expense shall be spared in its manufacture—and the making of it he attends to personally.

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS.

BRANDRETH'S PILLS are universally used in every section of this wide extended country where they are made known. Upwards of fourteen thousand cases of cure have been certified as having been effected solely from their use since the introduction of them into the United States establishing the fact beyond all doubt that the Brandreth Pills cure the (apparently) most opposite diseases by the one simple act of continually evacuating the bowels with them, until the disease gives way; therefore, whatever may be said of the *theory*, the *utility* of the *practice is now beyond all doubt.*

Dr. B. allows that the curative effect depends on the *Purgative Qualities of the Brandreth Pill*; experience and a continuation of experiment for upwards of forty years have made them the most judiciously balanced purge known. Therefore, however long it may be necessary to persevere with them for the removal of any disease, no other than good can possibly result from their use—they are perfectly innocent.

The healthy as well as those suffering from disease should use them—the former to keep their blood pure and vigorous, and the latter to remove all noxious accumulations without weakening the system. The only care that is required is to procure the genuine Brandreth Pills, and you cannot fail to procure the genuine if you take the following advice:

How to be secure from Counterfeits

Never purchase Brandreth's Pills without being positively sure that the person selling has an *Engraved* certificate of Agency, and ☞ observe it has been renewed; no Certificate being any guarantee after twelve months from date that Pills sold by the holder are genuine.

All Pills having Wm. Brandreth on the label, and George Hodgkinson on the edge, are counterfeits, are to *deceive the Public*, and evade the law at the same time.

These, and indeed, *all* counterfeit Pills, if used according to the directions which accompany my Pills, are calculated to DESTROY LIFE. They are made by men having no standing or respectability, without habitation or name—perfectly careless of consequences, provided money is obtained.

[Extract from Dr. B's Address to citizens of the U. S.]

And be careful to remember that I have never authorized pedlars in the United State to sell my Pills. These contemptible *persons* universally sell counterfeits, and that all Tradesmen who are made agents, have each of them a COPPER-PLATE certificate of agency, signed in writing with a pen by me; and which certificate requires renewal every twelve months, it being no guarantee for more than one year from date—observe the date is not WRITTEN, it is ENGRAVED.

B. BRANDRETH, M. D.
241 Broadway, New York.

Dr. B. Brandreth, has at very great expense, established the following offices for the exclusive sale of his Vegetable Universal Pills, which he begs to be understood shall be always equal to what they have been, and that no expense shall be spared in their manufacture. This he guarantees on his honor.

New York, (Principal)—241 Broadway.
Philadelphia—8 North Eighth Street.
Baltimore—80 South Charles Street.
Boston—19 Hanover Street.
Albany—Corner of Green and Hudson Streets.
Pittsburg, Pa.—151 Wood Street.
Cincinnati—119 Main Street.
Louisville, Ky.—99 Fourth Street
St. Louis, Mo.—56 1-2 Market Street.
New Orleans—3 Old Levee.
Charleston, S. C.—70 Meeting Street.
Montreal—63 Notre Dame.

Sub Agents in Maine will hereafter receive their supplies from the New England Office

19 HANOVER STREET 19

THE ONLY OFFICE IN BOSTON FOR DR. BENJAMIN BRANDRETH'S VEGETABLE UNIVERSAL PILLS,

Or of MR JOHN O. LANGLEY,

Who is DR. BRANDRETH'S duly authorized Travelling Agent for the State of Maine.

The following are the ONLY Agents in Oxford County furnished with the Genuine Pills. *Buy of them and avoid deception.*

Paris—CROCKER & SHAW.
So. Paris—A. Hall, Jr.
Buckfield—A. F. Cole.
Rumford—Otis C. Bolster.
" Asa Graham.
Dixfield—I. N. & C. Stanley,
Jay—Joel Paine.
Bethel—J. K. Kimball.
Livermore—Bruton & Morrison.
" J. Coolidge.
N. " Kimball & Walker.
Woodstock—Welcome Kinsley.
Hartford—Hall & Haines.
Greenwood—Welcome Kinsley.
Albany—Lovejoy & French.
Turner—Philo Clark.
Norway—Jotham Goodnow.
Lovell—James Walker.
Waterford—Noyes & Noble.
S " R. H. Gerry.
Sweden—Benjamin Nevens.
Fryeburg—H. C. Buswell.
Porter—John Higgins.
Hiram—Joel Butterfield.
Canton Mills—J. M. Deshon.
Oxford—Charles Durell.

B. BRANDRETH, M. D.
241 Broadway, N. Y.
Sole proprietor of Brandreth's Vegetable Universal Pills.
epoly32

WINTER GOODS.

BROADCLOTHS, Cassimeres, Mirenoes, &c. &c can now be had of the subscriber (for ready pay only) very cheap. Call and see.

W. E. GOODNOW.
Norway, Nov. 18, 1839. tf

BUFFALO ROBES.

A prime Lot just received and for sale by the subscriber, also, Fur Collars, Neck Ties, Muffs, Winter Fur Gloves, &c &c. W. E. GOODNOW.
Norway-Village, Nov. 18, 1839. tf

Almanacs for 1840.

JUST received and for sale by the dozen or single lot at the *Oxford Bookstore*, by

W. E. GOODNOW.
November 18, 1839. tf

THE subscriber hereby gives public notice to all concerned that he has been duly appointed and taken upon himself the trust of Administrator with the Will annexed on the Estate of

WILLIAM HASKELL, Jr.,

late of Canton, in the county of Oxford, deceased, by giving bond as the law directs—He therefore requests all persons who are indebted to the said deceased's estate to make immediate payment; and those who have any demands thereon, to exhibit the same to

JOHN HEARSEY.
Canton, Jan. 20, 1840. 3w22